

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Cuba in Turmoil

by Ellen Ward

The Background

Cuba, the "Queen" of the Caribbean, is the largest island of the West Indies, with a population of three and a half million spread over a territory only a little smaller than our own state of Pennsylvania. It lies 100 miles from Key West, Florida, a distance bridged in a few hours by boat and in a little over an hour by airplane.

Cuba is famous for its luxurious tropical beauty, for its lavish natural gifts. The great heat and humidity produce a vegetation of rare richness, sufficient to nourish and sustain at least three times its present population—if man produced for use. It has 13,000,000 acres of uncleared primeval forest—enough to satisfy each land-hungry peon.

Cuba An Agricultural Country

Cuba lives by agriculture. Its dominant crop is sugar—over eighty percent of the value of her annual produce. Tobacco raising and cigar manufacturing come next. So good as profitable have we found this fair land that "we" have invested to date over one-and-a-half billion dollars in Cuban sugar, tobacco, railroads, public utilities, real estate, merchandising and banking.

In addition to our economic interest we have a very vital political interest in Cuba. Its dominant position in the Caribbean and its closeness to the Panama Canal make the island a strategic point in the continental defense of the United States. Long before the end of the 19th century we had fixed our covetous eyes upon that "Pearl of the Antilles."

In 1898 we snatched Cuba from Spain because it fitted into our dream of Empire. We were "liberating" the Cuban people from the "tyranny" of Spain and, to foster the illusion of freedom, we permitted the Cuban people to draw up a constitution modelled on our own and to call their land a Republic. But lest they take that illusion too seriously we told them that they had to accept the Platt Amendment along with the Republic—that in fact they couldn't have the one without the other.

Stripped of its extremely thin diplomatic veneer, the Platt amendment tells the Cuban people that: 1. They can make no treaties with foreign countries without our consent. 2. They can borrow money from no one without our consent. 3. They must grant us such territory as we desire for naval bases and for coaling stations. 4. That we have the right of armed intervention whenever we deem it necessary.

The words "Republic of Cuba" remained a hollow-sounding name but the Platt amendment became a most effective instrument in our rule of Cuba. We moved into the island with an alacrity and a hunger that quickly monopolized all sources of wealth. Our investors and financiers instituted a system of oppression and exploitation which for calculating brutishness

won the envy of competing imperialists the world over.

Sugar yielded the greatest profits so we made Cuba into a one crop country. We imported Negroes from Jamaica to compete against Cuban peons and to force their miserable wages below the starvation level. Each year the end of June brings the end of the grinding season in sugar. Thousands upon thousands are then dropped from the payroll. These workers face unemployment and starvation for the remainder of

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Due to lack of space we were forced to omit a number of articles

each year. Only a very small number is kept on by the sugar mill during the "dead season" for the cultivation of the new crop—and periodically hunger stalks through the land. Hunger on the one hand and swollen profits on the other. Hunger for the Cuban people and profits for the American.

(Continued on Page 3)

Big Struggles Loom

Constantly longer becomes the list of cities in which working class blood has been shed. To Toledo, New Orleans and Minneapolis must be added San Francisco and Portland. Determined to beat back the rising tide of resentment against five years of hunger and misery, the employing class is resorting to war measures—tear gas, vomit gas and bullets. The order to the National Guardsmen, in San Francisco was "Shoot To Kill!"

Yet, the workers stand firm.

The San Francisco and Portland strikes of longshoremen have been strengthened by the walkout of 4,000 teamsters in San Francisco, who struck despite all coercion by the local Labor Board. Pacific coast commerce is completely tied up and the movement for a general strike is still gathering momentum. Also in Minneapolis and St. Paul strike sentiment among the teamsters is running high. The gains, supposedly won, thru the May settlement of the Minneapolis strike, are still in the files of the Labor Board. The city fathers have announced that martial law will be declared, if another strike occurs. Instead of improved conditions the workers are again to receive hot lead and cold steel.

The heroic struggles in the mid-west and the west are but the forerunners of still greater battles to come, for they are bound to exert a powerful influence upon the workers in the automobile, steel and other industries.

The "settlements" in the auto and steel industries merely postponed the reckoning. Such cases as the refusal of the Republic Steel Corporation to renew its agreement with the Amalgamated Ass'n; the cynical abrogation of the most elementary rights of labor by Weirton Steel; the warrants of arrest, issued on demand of Weirton Steel, of all officers of the Blue Eagle Lodge of the Amalgamated Association—all these are but accumulations of explosives which, when set off, will shake these giant trusts to their very foundation.

In increasing number, workers are beginning to see thru the sham of this "cure-all"—the NRA. The recent bitterly fought strikes have dimmed the halo of liberalism—with which liberals and socialists so confidently surrounded Roosevelt. The New Deal government is emerging more and more openly as the old strike-breaking instrument of capitalism. The illusions of the masses are being dissolved in the very blood, shed during the recent strikes.

NIGHT OF NIGHTS! PARTY AND DANCE

A moonlight dance and farewell party for the students of the Communist Party USA (Opposition) National Training School and national organizers going into the field, will be held on Sunday, July 22nd, at the Lido Roof Gardens, 160 West 146th Street, (Near Lenox Avenue).

Unique features?—We'll say! For 35 puny pennies, comrades and friends, you dance in the delightful cool of Harlem's pet roof garden to the hot and tuneful music of an ace Negro jazz band. For the very same pennies you will be fed.

But above all you can meet our comrades from all sections of the nation and inspire our organizers to greater and more successful effort.

C.P.O. National Committee In Session

On June 30th and July 1st, about 50 comrades from all over the country gathered together at the National Plenum of the C.P.O. for the purpose of evaluating the work of the group, since the 4th National Convention. These 6 months have seen important events in the labor movement, in the light of which to test the correctness of the general line of the group. Districts represented outside of N. Y. were Paterson, Boston, Albany-Troy, Hartford, Philadelphia, Ft. Wayne, Chicago, Detroit, Nebraska, Montreal, Toronto.

The Plenum was opened with the reading of letters from Austria and Germany. The letter from Austria noted the developing influence of the ICO there. That from Germany described the increasing terror against our German comrades, falling especially hard against the Leipzig district where the leading comrade was murdered by the hell hounds of Fascism. The plenum voted the immediate sending of \$250.00 as an expression of Communist solidarity with our German comrades in their difficult underground work in Germany.

Comrade Lovestone then reported on the world economic and political situation. He stressed the fact that the general decay of world capitalism persists in spite of a temporary upturn in production which was neither general for all countries or all industries and which did not substantially affect world unemployment which still persists on a mass scale. The bitter conflicts for markets continue and around them the war danger is rooted more sharply than ever, the armament race assuming ever more amazing speed. On the other hand, the Soviet Union continues its building of socialism, and continues its vigorous peace policy. The international class struggles continue to sharpen. The drive toward Fascist reaction increases (Latvia and Bulgaria) arousing the increased resistance of the working class (France, Spain) while on the other hand, definite radicalization can be noted (U.S., England). In this sharp struggle the CI continues its ultra-left sectarian line (united front policy—theory of social fas-

cism), inevitably resulting in its inability to capitalize adequately the favorable objective situations existing in Austria, England and the U.S. The bankruptcy of the reformist principles of the Second International has been confirmed by all recent world events, the Austrian situation giving complete and decisive proof.

The ICO, the net inmate from the crisis affecting the world labor movement generally (the crisis in relations between it and the Alsation section) has considerably improved situations to record in Germany and the U.S., progress in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and India as well as forging a possible base in England.

Mass Arrests in Germany

C.P.G.-O LEADER MURDERED

Recent reports from Germany indicate that new, widespread arrests of communists are taking place. The letter below shows what awaits many of them.

—Editor.

Hitler fascism has added another crime to its long list of savage deeds. During the month of May a number of workers, both men and women, were arrested and accused of being members of the CPG-O. Among these was Comrade Heinrich Plaas who was taken to police headquarters in Leipzig.

On May 28th Plaas' wife went to inquire the fate of her husband. She was not allowed to see him. She went again that same evening. Now she was shown a photograph and asked whether it was that of her husband. When she recognized his picture she was told that he had committed suicide. She was not allowed to see the dead body of her husband. Nor was she allowed to see him prior to cremation.

Meanwhile, however, the secret of this sudden death has leaked out. Comrade Plaas was subjected to the most brutal maltreatment during the police examination, in an attempt to wrest from him the names of other comrades. Comrade Plaas

remained firm. He was actually beaten to death.

The dead body of the murdered comrade was kept in a "No Admittance" room of police headquarters on Monday, May 28th. Our keyman could only see the face of the dead comrade which was completely covered with blue and brown spots, the neck was made invisible by a stiff collar. Because of these external marks of the bestial murder, the widow of the comrade was not permitted to see him.

Comrade Heinrich Plaas was an untiring, loyal comrade ready to die for the cause. In the CPG he had been an active functionary and he has constantly fought for the aims of the CPG-O from its inception. Comrade Plaas is survived by his wife and two children aged 9 mos. and 4 years respectively.

The loss of comrade Plaas is a severe blow to the Leipzig district of the CPGO, of which he was organizer.

As an expression of our solidarity with our fighting German comrade the National Committee of the CPO has decided to raise a fund of \$250. in order to help strengthen their work.

We appeal to all units and to all friends and sympathisers to send their contributions to this fund.

PICNIC - Sunday, August 5, 1934

ULMER PARK MUSIC HALL
Foot of 25th Avenue., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Detroit Laundry Workers In Organization Drive

by R. G. and W. M.

Detroit, Mich.

The laundry workers, who are the lowest paid among workers in the City, are at last moving in the direction of organization and are already beginning to learn concretely the advantages to be gained in that direction.

The Laundry Workers' Union, Local 129, which has recently been reorganized and is showing renewed signs of life, concentrated on the Grand Laundry. A series of meetings were held, each bigger and more enthusiastic than the last, until finally the workers there decided to try out this new power that they had welded.

A list of demands were drawn up and presented to the boss. The answer was the usual plea of poverty and that the company would deal only with its employees. This reply was taken up at a well attended meeting of the workers with the result that they decided to follow this up with a walk-out the following morning, June 15th. The response was a 100 per cent.

The enthusiasm was so great that those not already in the Union were swept inside. The boss tried all the old tricks, that have been used in the past, in an effort to divide the workers, but the reply was always the same: "See the Strike Committee." Driven to desperation by his inability to break the united ranks of the workers, the boss finally decided to throw in his trump card.

Notices were posted that all their former employees were fired, that they should call for their pay

immediately. To their surprise they found that the pay envelope contained not only the current week's pay, but three weeks of back pay that had been withheld from the workers since the bank crash some 18 months ago. Even this did not have its intended effect and the ranks of the workers remained as solid as ever.

Later the boss capitulated and granted all the demands made by the workers with the exception of the one dealing with hours, which in the original demand called for a 40 hour week.

On Saturday, June 16th a compromise was made on the question of hours and the following agreement was reached: 5c increase of the hourly rate, a 45 hour week with time and a half for overtime, recognition of a shop committee of seven and no discrimination for union activities.

We compliment the workers of Grand Laundry on their courageous fight and also, under the Business Agent W. Miller's leadership of the Laundry Workers Union Local 129, for the business like way the strike was conducted.

These workers, in the past, have been striving to better their miserable conditions as individuals, but it was only after they turned to organization that they have been able to achieve even this slight gain. We sincerely hope that workers in other laundries will follow their lead and that we shall soon see the Laundry Workers Union powerful enough to demand for the laundry workers wages and conditions at least as good as those workers in other industries.

WOLFE ON LATIN AMERICA

Radio Address delivered by Bertrand D. Wolfe, Director of the New Workers School, in the program "Voice of the Americas" over Station WNEW, Newark, N. J. The subject given Comrade Wolfe was "Cultural Relations with Latin America."

Culturally the two Americas, North and South, offer a three-fold heritage: Hispano-American, Anglo-American, and Indian. What the American Indian heritage has to offer is dimly suggested by the marvelous ruins of Mayan and Inca civilizations, the colorful popular arts, pottery and blankets and basketry, or the great Mexican movement in painting that has produced such men of genius as Diego Rivera and Orozco and has made Mexico today the artistic center of the modern world.

That it was hardly commensurate with our increased influence. Comrade Benjamin did not pull punches in noting the organizational weaknesses of the group; on the looseness of functioning of the organization generally; the insufficient activation of all the comrades, the insufficient politicalization of the units, the poor functioning of most fractions, the inadequate response to the "Age," the low level of recruiting consciousness at a time when possibilities in that direction were better than ever before, the weakness of our work in the official CP and indicated these as important tasks for the future.

Discussion on Comrade Benjamin's report was concrete, thorough and businesslike. The comrades especially from out-of-town presented the organizational achievements and problems of their districts.

The draft political thesis was unanimously adopted with the addition of some minor details. The draft organizational thesis was unanimously adopted.

The plenum as a whole was workmanlike from start to finish. What emerged was the vitality of our tactical line, the increased prestige and influence of our group in the general labor movement, the high morale and feeling of unity in the group—good sign for our work in the coming period.

But the Indian is at the bottom of the Latin-American social pyramid. He can only make his full contribution to the culture of these continents and of the world, when he is raised from his present position to one of economic and social equality and freedom. Nor can the Hispano-American and Anglo-American culture streams fully fructify each other, so long as there is any suspicion or distrust, and inequality and injustice, in the relations of the peoples of the two Americas.

Having lived and worked in Latin America, having read their press and interviewed their popular spokesmen, and followed their literature, I can assure you, men and women of the radio audience, that the United States is not a very popular neighbor. It is not our culture or the great mass of our people on whom the Latin Americans are passing judgment. They know us chiefly through American bankers and investing interests, American diplomacy, and all too frequently, the landing parties of American marines.

As an American speaking to Americans, I do not feel it appropriate here to make suggestions to those south of the Rio Grande. I want rather to say a few words about what we Americans should do as a people if we wish to promote better relations with our neighbors to the South.

First, I hope you will agree with me that proper relations can only mean an absolute equality and free cooperation of all the peoples of these continents with each other—cooperation as neighbors and equals.

Second, there cannot be such equal and neighborly cooperation while there exists any intervention or any threat of intervention, any economic or political or military pressure by the strongest power on this continent to influence the form of government or the internal affairs and economic life of any other land. To the Central American and Caribbean peoples that have been visited 30 times within 25 years by American marines, we must give guarantees that the marines will never invade their territories again. Self-determination means self-determination regardless of the size of the land, the nature of its products or its nearness to the Panama Canal.

In that connection, the new treaty with Cuba formally abrogating the unjust Platt amendment has been hailed as a big step forward. But it still makes Cuba a naval base of the United States. It does nothing to lessen Cuba's economic subjection. It does nothing to alter the economic agreement on the loans made by the National City and Chase banks. These loans were made not to the Cuban people but to the tyrannical government of ex-president Machado. He used them against the interests of the Cuban people till he was overthrown. The relations of these banks and other American interests to Machado were of such character that when they were investigated in the United States Senate, certain sessions were held in secret and some of the things, there uncovered, have never been reported to the Cuban people or the people of the United States.

Third, the right of each land must be recognized to exploit its own natural resources for the welfare of its own people.

These are but a few necessary steps in developing the pre-requisites for proper inter-American relations. Time will not permit more but I cannot close without expressing the conviction that such genuine cooperation between the peoples will always be hampered so long as it is possible for government policy here or in any other land to be influenced or determined by powerful financial groups. But that will be impossible only when the destinies of each land are directly ruled by the great majority, the workers, farmers, peasants and producers generally. For that great majority has no motive for economic pressure or intervention, or the subjection of land by land. Then full cooperation and a free union for common economic and cultural effort will be assured and the peoples of this continent will live together in friendship with each other and all the world.

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C.P.O. Nat'l Comm. Session

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is manifest. The recently launched (i.e. in slogan form) "Independent Federation of Labor" seeking to restore the TUUL is bound to fail because of its lack of any substantial base for it.

As to our group, the CPO, Comrade Lovestone indicated our growth both as an organization and our influence in the labor movement generally (needle, textile, shoe, mining, metal). He stressed our constructive role as contrasted to the official CP's disruptive one toward the genuine left developments in the SP, and the necessity of our continuing to help the lefts in the SP to break completely with Centrism and complete the journey to Communism. In concluding Comrade Lovestone welcomed the fact that the CPO is in a healthier condition today than at any time in its history. Objective developments have borne out the general correctness of our tactical line. Our work along that line has enabled us to grow numerically as an organization as well as extend our influence substantially in the labor movement. Consequently we are in a better position than ever before to realize our main objectives, for the return of the CI to a Leninist tactical line and for the rebuilding and reunification of the Communist movement all over the world. The discussion on Comrade Lovestone's report involved nearly all the comrades present. The discussion was on a high level throughout.

Comrade Benjamin then dealt with the organizational situation in our group. He stressed the growth of our organization (250 new members since winter), the fraternal affiliation to the ICO of the Lithuanian Opposition, our higher morale in view of our increased prestige in the labor movement. He indicated the need for the assimilation of the new comrades, and in this connection the importance of our educational work. He noted the increasing influence of the New Workers School in New York, the establishment of

new branches in Montreal, Ft. Wayne, Chicago and Philadelphia and the impetus the National Training School would give the work in this direction amongst others. The increase of the literature gotten out by the group with the consequent increased knowledge of the group position outside was stressed as an important aid in recruiting. Altho noting the increase in the circulation of the "Age" he indicated

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CUBA CONTINUES IN TURMOIL

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can cancer. And in this game of profits against human lives the American capitalist has found numerous allies and henchmen among the people of Latin America.

Gerardo Machado

It is a common saying, throughout Latin America, that Cuba's Presidents are made in the American Embassy. Gerardo Machado certainly served a faithful apprenticeship there. A member of the "Liberal" party of Cuba. (We must always bear in mind that in Latin-American politics "Liberal" and "Conservative" are meaningless terms as "democratic" and "Republican" in the United States or "Radical Socialist" in France). Machado was inaugurated in 1925. The true restoration might imply some sort of democratic government, but no vestige of democracy ever appeared under Machado. He was Cuba's most brutal dictator. At the behest of American interests he carried out a policy that destroyed all opposition forces, that outlawed all labor organizations, that imprisoned, tortured and murdered anyone who dared criticize the brutality and orgies of that butcher who ruled so long with the blessings of the American State Department. Millions upon millions in "loans" for his personal use—actually bribes except that Cuban people were expected to pay them back—were extended by the National City and the Chase banks at swollen rates of interest. This brutal dictatorship lasted 8 years until the starving and wretched masses could endure it no longer and in August 1933 they threw him out.

Much credit for the organization and the technicians of the overthrow must go to the secret organization known as the ABC. Until the fall of Machado many leading trade unionists, left and radical leaders and the revolutionary students, worked with this group of intellectuals who had organized on the basis of small secret cells. Of their membership of some 80,000, it said that almost 20,000 are armed. After the defeat of Machado, however, class differentiation set in among the heterogeneous mass of the ABC supporters.

Céspedes

The universal mass hatred of Machado, the defection of the army and the navy, the extraordinary tenacious activity of the ABC were too much even for our State Department and the American government decided to "withdraw" its support from Machado, but to make the "transition" to another president as painless as possible for American Big Business. Mr. Welles, America's representative in Cuba at the time of the overthrow, with the counsel of our State Department, decided to "ease in" Céspedes, one-time premier of Machado; but he smelled so much of his former chief that the people threw him out in less than a month. The army and the students supported by another surge of the masses, took control of the government and put in Grau San Martín.

Grau San Martín

But the United States refused to recognize Grau. The State Department and our fat boys did not like him and did not trust him. He appeared to take the demands of the masses too much in earnest. On January 10, 1934 Grau issued a land decree providing: 1. 33 acres of land to each person (to be taken from government lands and from the confiscated estates of the former Machado officials). 2. A yoke of oxen, a milch cow and a plow for each poor; also seed to be furnished free. 3. The Department of Agriculture to supervise cultivation of this land. 4. No taxes to be levied for two years.

Grau also signed a decree fixing the minimum wage of hauling sugar for the 1934 crop at 50 cents for 100 arrobas (in most sections as low as 20 cents was being paid). Grau also took over the properties of the Electric Company (a subsidiary of the American Electric Bond and Share) and reduced

their rates by 45%. He even talked of Cuba's right to freedom from American intervention. It now seems probable that all these radical moves were largely gestures to consolidate his power and that later he would have proved quite amenable to "persuasive argument," but the State Department regarded him with suspicion and in a few days maneuvered him out of the presidency.

Carlos Mendieta

After Grau came Carlos Hevia who ruled Cuba for some 40 hours and then the United States graciously indicated its approval of Carlos Mendieta, who has remained "transition" president pending drawing up of a new constitution and elections. He has been in office from Jan. 1934 until the present.

A still uncertain factor is Fulgencio Batista. He supported Grau previously but soon decided to play on the winning horse, and at the head of the army took his place behind Mendieta. We shall certainly hear more from him later. So safe are American interests in the hands of Mendieta that he was accorded almost instantaneous recognition by our State Department. And in reply he stated:

"I desire to lay stress on the point that foreign capital will receive the most ample protec-

by Ellen Ward

tion in the development of their legitimate interests in the Republic . . . the future of Cuba lies in her going hand in hand with the United States (N. Y. Times, Jan. 25, 1934).

It is said of Mendieta that he is an old-time Cuban "gentleman" using the old guard politicians and the old policies. To cover up what he is handing over to Yankee imperialism, he makes demagogic speeches to appease the masses. He repeats hollow-sounding phrases about liberty and a free people. He issues warrants for the arrest of Machado and Ferrera, his commission repudiates Machado's debts to the American banks, but none of these gestures feed the people. Mendieta has been in the presidency for over six months and he has not been able to solve any of the economic problems that confronted him on taking power. Each day the opposition against him grows stronger.

Labor Unrest

The bulletins of labor unrest and governmental decrees speak for themselves:

"Increasing agitation among labor groups brought a walk-out today of 30,000 tobacco workers as well as omnibus em-

ployees of Havana Province. The threat of a general strike is being freely discussed as various unions have announced their support of the tobacco workers and of the employees of the Cuba Northern Railways. Organizations pledging support are: Dock workers, transportation and factory workers. Mendieta faces a serious situation unless the spread of strikes can be halted . . . Left wing students at universities, high schools and normal schools help swell the protest." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 1, 1934).

"Electrical, gas and street car workers strike in sympathy with tobacco workers." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 3, 1934).

"Mendieta decrees all constitutional guarantees suspended throughout Cuba . . . Heavy penalties imposed on labor leaders calling strikes . . . foreign agitators to be deported." (March 7, 1934).

"Mendieta government announces that all strikes will be broken with full army protection if necessary." (A. P. Mar. 8, 1934).

"In answer to above official

decrees, stevedores, newspaper men, steel workers, packing house workers, Cuban telephone workers join the walkout in protest." (N. Y. Times, March 4, 1934).

The strike movement grows and swells. Each day brings new forces out into the streets. Today's news (July 10, N. Y. Times) announces a general strike of 24 hours to begin immediately in protest against the government's refusal to release the political prisoners belonging to labor. These strikes are directed by the National Labor Confederation, the most powerful left labor organization. To all its pleas for support by labor it gives a political color by calling for the creation of a government of the working class.

In addition to this great unrest the agricultural workers, impeded by misery and starvation, have seized sugar mills and have committed "excesses" against American properties. Left wing students continue demonstrating by the thousands against the repressive measures of the Mendieta regime and for the feeding of Cuba's masses.

ABC Bids For Power

The leaders of the ABC who had accepted posts in the Mendieta cabinet showed dissatisfaction with the President's "slow tempo." On June 18th they decided upon a parade as a demonstration of their strength (a bid for power at the next elections). Although they secured Mendieta's permission for the parade, there were no troops or police to protect the line of march which was attacked, presumably by former supporters of Grau San Martín. As a result of this attack 13 were killed and many wounded. In protest against the government's "irresponsible" behavior in this matter, the ABC withdrew all their members from the Mendieta cabinet. This move considerably weakens the government and implies active opposition to it from now on. As a matter of fact the ABC has already begun an active, direct action campaign against all forces opposing it. The United Press reports that on June 20, an ABC group, armed, drove up to a radio station over which speakers were

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a striking moral victory for the Progressive movement which easily rose to the stature required of it as the conscious and determined champion of militancy, unity and democracy in the union!

The Fundamental Contradiction

The fact of the matter is that the annihilating repudiation which the underlying principles of the official CR trade union policy have suffered at the hand of experience in the last year and a half, have left its basic aims and major tactics almost wholly unchanged. The great idea still remains to smash the mass unions in the A. F. of L. by means of dual unions from without and disruptive opposition groups (the "Left Groups", the "Rank and File Groups", etc.) from within. In this noble cause, any means, from pandering to the prejudices of the most backward sections of the workers to open strike-breaking, are justified. Curiously enough, however, such extremely "clever" tactics have the habit of playing the boomerang. The "outside dual union and inside opposition group" strategy has formed a vise that is choking out the life not of the A. F. of L. unions, as was confidently expected, but rather out of the official Communist Party as any sort of factor in the organized American labor movement! The "Left Group" was sunk without a trace because of the millstone of the dual Industrial Union around its neck!

The NRA At The Convention

Without doubt the most basic problem to come before the convention was the NRA. That it was primarily a question of general es-

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Communists and the I. L. G. W. U.

by Will Herberg

The recent convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the main course of which I described in the last issue of the Workers Age, is undoubtedly being subjected today to searching examination by every tendency of significance in the American labor movement, by the old-line conservative leadership of the A. F. of L., by the leading group dominating the international itself, by the Socialist Party in its various shadings, by the official Communist Party and, of course, by the Communist Opposition. And indeed the convention truly deserves such careful and many-sided consideration for, in a certain sense, it provided a significant testing ground of the various programs and tendencies striving for mastery in the International and, in a broader sense, in the whole trade union movement.

Can The A. F. of L. Unions Gain?

The International came to the convention 200,000 strong, about four or five times in size as the year before. This fact in itself constitutes a blasting refutation of the whole sectarian trade union orientation of the Communist Party. Only three years ago its most authoritative spokesmen had conclusively proved from Losovsky's "indisputable premises" that the I.L.G.W.U., like the A. F. of L. as a whole, could never grow, that it was in fact facing speedy and glorious extinction or else conversion into a mere skeleton, artificially kept alive by the employers, to head off the overpowering influx of workers into the "Red" unions and the T.U.U.L. (the famous Zack-Foster theory). The whole system of tactics that have brought such disaster to the Communist movement was based on this confident forecast. Amidst derision and vituperation, the Communist Opposition insisted that "there could be nothing more fatal . . . than the illusion that the A. F. of L. can no longer grow and has no future. The outlook is clearly for an ingress into the trade unions . . ." (Jay Lovestone in The Workers Age, May 14, 1932). Revolutionary trade union tactics were emphasized, must be framed with this fundamental perspective in mind. Before long, life itself gave the answer and the recent convention of the International

has sealed and double-sealed the verdict.

Whence The Growth?

On the I.L.G.W.U. side, whence came this sudden gigantic accession of strength to the International in an attempt to escape the consequences of their own false dogmas, the official CR spokesmen (see the recent "analytical" articles by Rose Wornitz) seem to agree with William Green and President DuPont in his more minimalist moments, that it all came as the free gift of the NRA.

But the facts have a different tale to tell, a tale described in detail in the report of the general executive board submitted to the convention. The memorable strike in Philadelphia, which really initiated the rebirth of the union months before the NRA was heard of, the magnificent strike of the dressmakers in New York, the bitter and courageous battles in St. Louis, Chicago, the Pacific Coast and other centers, indicate the road the international took in reaching its present position. The more general consideration of the NRA we may leave to a future paragraph; for the present it is clear enough that the tremendous growth of the I.L.G.W.U. and the improvement of conditions in the various markets came as result of "aggressive strike action and dependence only on the forces of the union," as Comrade Zimmerman pointed out so clearly in his minority report. Never was there a more striking vindication of our fundamental contention that "the advantages labor can reap under the Recovery Act are not in the nature of a free grant made by the NRA in the fullness of its impartial beneficence; they are gains to be snatched from the grasp of the enemy, by organization, by solidarity, by fighting!" ("The NRA and American Labor," by Will Herberg).

Can An A. F. of L. Union Fight?

But is it possible for an A. F. of L. union, a union not within the magic circle of the T.U.U.L., to fight, to win gains for the workers by aggressive, militant action? Another sacrosanct dogma of official Communist sectarianism shattered into bits! For when we resisted that the progressive move-

ment within the unions must be the driving force to spur them to militant action, we were repeatedly told that we were merely spreading illusions among the workers; that the A. F. of L. unions neither could nor would fight; that they were "social-fascist or plain fascist bodies, ready company unions, in fact; here again the itself gave the answer and the convention has sealed and double-sealed the verdict!"

The Bankruptcy Of The "Left Group"

The complete shattering of the ideological basis of the official CR trade union policy was reflected in the pitiful bankruptcy of the so-called "Left Group" (the CR-organized opposition group within the I.L.G.W.U.) at the convention. This bankruptcy was most obvious organizationally; with many times the numerical strength and resources of the despised Lovestonites, the CR could not effect the election of more than four or five of its members or sympathizers to the convention as against the several score who followed our policy on all major issues. But the bankruptcy was even more significantly moral; the "Left Group" came to the convention without any program at all, without any aim or objective, seemingly, except to make itself ridiculous. Not a single important resolution did it introduce, neither on the NRA, nor on trade or organizational questions, nor on questions affecting the general labor movement! Oh, yes! Esther Schweitzer, the only "Left Group" delegate to open her mouth, did let herself be heard from on one important question—together with the ultra-detrainees, Anarchists and the old-line A. F. of L. conservatives, she voiced her unalterable opposition to independent working class political action in the form of a Labor party in the United States!

The Progressives Make Their Mark

On the contrary, it was left to the Progressives, among whom the CPO has considerable influence, to bring forward an extensive and far-reaching program in the form of resolutions touching every important problem facing the women's garment workers today. In contrast to the annihilating moral defeat suffered by the "Left Group," the convention registered

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The Present Situation and Statement by the National Committee

The following statement on "The Present Situation and the Tasks of the C.P.O." was adopted by the full session of the National Committee, on June 30 and July 1, 1934.—Editor.

I. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

1. Though the bottom of the world-wide economic crisis has been reached and in some countries production has risen, economic conditions continue grave throughout the capitalist world.

2. No general boom or "prosperity" period is in sight on a world scale or in any particular country. On the contrary, the costly consequences of many of the recovery measures taken by the bourgeois governments have, in recent months, been felt as additional aggravating factors.

3. Mass unemployment persists despite rising production. Revival of production is not general either in all countries or all industries within any country. Total world trade continues to stagnate or decline. Japan's inflated "prosperity" is becoming ever-more unsound and France's economic situation continues to worsen. Especially in Fascist Italy and Germany are conditions becoming very acute. In the U. S. the boom period of the NRA is over, the index of production has fallen sharply since last summer and the monetary policies as well as other features of the New Deal economic program have fallen down.

4. The general decay of world capitalism continues even in the process of recovery, as evidenced in the increasing interference in and direction of all social and economic life by the bourgeois state, (state as producer and investor-state capitalism), in the sharpening antagonisms among the imperialist powers, and in the violent methods increasingly resorted to by the capitalist class to depress the living standards to the levels of the lowest point in the crisis.

II. WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

The Danger of War

1. It is in this economic situation that the bitter conflict for markets and the rising war danger are rooted. (U. S. vs. Japan, England vs. U. S. and Japan, Germany vs. France, Japan and Germany vs. U.S.S.R.) The Versailles system has broken down. The armament race assumes evermore amazing speed as the sundry disarmament conferences and efforts go to pieces. Government budgetary deficits continue to mount to dizzy heights. Fear of the U.S.S.R. rises as the tempo of its socialist progress is accelerated.

U.S.S.R. Prolongs Peace Period

2. Thanks, in no small measure, to the strength and the vigorous peace policy of the U.S.S.R., world peace has so far been preserved. It is necessary and proper for the U.S.S.R. to prolong this period of peace in the interests of socialist construction. Soviet foreign policy has successfully maintained initiative and complete freedom of action through its consistent refusal to support any imperialist forces or objectives and through its being ever-ready to support even the faintest effort towards the protraction of peace, regardless of its source. As it should be, in these Soviet maneuvers and relationships for peace, the exact form of capitalist class rule, the difference in state form in the various countries (Fascist, monarchist, bourgeois democracy), does not play any decisive role. There is not the slightest conflict of interest between Soviet foreign policy and the international proletariat. The aims of both are identical (prevention of imperialist war and destruction of capitalism as a world system) but the tactics for the achievement of these identical aims are necessarily different because in the U.S.S.R. the proletariat has already captured power, while in the capitalist countries the working classes have not yet seized power.

U.S.S.R. and League of Nations

3. The momentary attitude of the Soviet Union towards any bourgeois power, group of powers, or League of Nations does not mean that it has any illusions about them, that it indorses their colonial or mandated-area policies or their armament programs. This position of the U.S.S.R. simply means that it is prepared to work together with any and all forces, regardless of how temporary and skin-deep their desires to prevent an outbreak of imperialist war may be, for the preservation of peace even for the briefest period. In order to support most effectively the Soviet Union's peace policies, the proletariat of all capitalist countries must enhance its international solidarity of action and struggle against imperialism.

III. PRESENT POSITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE

1. The effect of the world economic and political situations, in all their varied manifestations, on the international class struggle differs for the various countries, depending primarily on the specific prevailing class relations in each country. Thus, we can register the beginning of radicalization of great masses of workers in the USA and England (organization and strike wave under A. F. of L. banner, successes of Labor Party in elections), while at the same time we can note a savage suppression of the class struggle in the Fascist countries.

2. An international manifestation of great import is the growing tendency towards a declassing and proletarianization of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the lowest

and middle layers of the farming masses.

3. Simultaneously with the victory of the Fascist counter-revolution and the advance of Fascist forces in various countries (Germany, Latvia, Bulgaria), there is to be noted the onmarch of the revolutionary proletariat and the toiling masses in other countries (Soviet Union, Soviet China). In France and especially Spain issues are rapidly coming to a head between the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the revolutionary forces of the workers and peasantry.

CI Sectarianism Continues

4. In this situation of sharpening class conflicts, the CI continues its ultra-left, sectarian, tactical line. In general and at best, confusion, wavering, and inconsistency have replaced definiteness in the non-Leninist tactical course of the Comintern. Thus, we see the continuation of the anti-united front policy with its insane theory of social-fascism (Germany, U. S.) simultaneously with some efforts at genuine united fronts (England, France). The sundry inconsistent bends, twists and turns have consistently reverted to the fundamentally unsound strategical course in the field of the united front and trade union activities. The crisis in the CI has been reflected particularly in the last half year in the Comintern's inability to capitalize adequately the extremely favorable situations in Austria, England, and the U. S. Only in the U.S.S.R. and China has the Comintern been able not only to avoid losses but even to make gains commensurate with or even beyond the objective possibilities.

Socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. has won an overwhelming victory in the successful first Five-Year Plan. The 17th congress of the CPSU has correctly decided, thru the 2nd Five Year Plan, to wipe out the remnants of capitalism and to adjust the rate of increase of industrialization so as to insure a substantial rise in the standard of living. A vital guarantee for the successful carrying out of this line is the eradication of all manifestations of hero cult in the CPSU and an energetic execution of the decisions adopted by the 17th CPSU Congress for the eradication of bureaucratism in the Party and Soviet State. In view of the anti-democratic centralist relationship prevailing in the CI and its various sections, (no ideological preparations, no free discussions, general non-critical atmosphere, rampant bureaucratism, etc.) the long overdue call for the Seventh World Congress has lost much of its significance and potentialities for correcting the wrong line of the Comintern. That the Seventh World Congress will mirror only in a distorted fashion the real situation in the CI is most glaringly evidenced in the fact that no steps have been taken towards an objective examination of the crisis and splits (U. S., France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Spain) as well as the defeats of the CI (Germany).

Bankruptcy of Social-Reformism

5. The victories as well as the defeats of the international proletariat confirm the bankruptcy of social-reformism and its international organization, the L.S.I., the Second International. The whole trend of events in Germany, Austria, Spain, U.S.S.R., and China shows practically that the road of bourgeois democracy leads to defeat and Fascism while the road to Soviet power (workers councils) leads to tremendous possibilities for revolutionary action and victories. Throughout the Second International we are now witnessing the repercussions of the smashing defeat suffered by reformism in Germany. The experiences in Austria only emphasize the bankruptcy of international reformism. This is true despite the unprincipled attempts of the L.S.I. to exploit the heroic struggles of the revolutionary Austrian proletariat for the glorification of the Second International.

The Austrian revolt was an uprising (not politically prepared or organized) of the best elements of the Social-Democratic Party which pursued a policy of capitulation to the very last hour. Nor is this truth altered by the fact that some Austrian Social-Democratic leaders fought courageously as individuals. For the defeat of the Austrian proletariat, the principles, tactics, and leadership of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party are responsible. The Austrian experiences indicate beyond a shadow of doubt that organizational unity of the workers under the outright reformist or centrist-reformist (Austro-Marxism) leadership leads only to defeat. The events in Austria underscore the need of a mass Communist Party with correct tactics in order to lead, prepare, and insure the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

But international reformism is far from being completely finished. In some countries (Belgium, Sweden, Holland), it is striving to maintain its hold on the workers by means of still more open collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In other countries it is seeking to hold and extend its influence by means of resorting to left phrases, to pseudo-revolutionary appeals (Prague program of German Social-Democratic Party, "New Beginning" in German Social-Democratic Party, Declaration of Principles in American S.P.).

Genuine United Front Needed

6. Significant evidence of the destructive role of social-reformism (Second International) and the sterility of the ultra-left tactical line of the Third International is to be

found in the present tragic developments in Spain and France. Thus, we are witnessing a sharp right incline, with advancing reaction preparing the ground for Fascism, in Spain. Under cover of bourgeois democracy the forces of Fascism are forming serried ranks for brutal attacks on the French workers: The spontaneous militant resistance of both the Spanish and French workers is doomed to defeat unless the L.S.I. and the Comintern drop their present opposition to genuine united front action. Likewise, the CI will not be able to transform these scattered, defensive struggles of the proletariat into offensive, revolutionary, victorious conflicts so long as it persists in its present ruinous ultra-left sectarian strategical course.

The Role of Centrist

7. Centrist has experienced some revival in recent months. The reformist leaders have been resorting to more radical phrases to stem the leftward tide of the masses beginning to break with open reformism. The sectarianism of the CI has played into the hands of such left-sounding reformist leaders. Besides these factors, we must also note that Trotskyism, in its new role, has become a stimulant and co-ordinator of sundry manifestations of centrist, thus further confusing and halting the development of the awakening Social-Democratic masses towards genuine revolutionary socialism, that is, towards communism. Organizationally the international Centrist forces have suffered one defeat after another in recent months. The Centrist parties gathered in Paris last summer are now busily engaged in struggles against each other. In the I.L.P., where Centrist still has the upper hand, it has been unable, to date, to establish a base for international centrist co-ordination. In the Norwegian Labor Party, Centrist leaders are veering towards Fascism. The S.A.P. is practically dead in Germany. All attempts at the formation of a Centrist Party in the U.S. have proved pitiful fiascos (A.W.P.). Finally, the heavy losses suffered by the Centrist bloc is to be accounted for by the reformist leaders in the Second International taking over a great many of their left phrases and centrist ideology.

Trotskyism Today

8. After the mortal blows dealt to reformism in Germany and Austria, Trotskyism became the most virulent source of new centrist-reformist ideology. It launched far-flung but futile efforts to found a new, a fourth, a centrist, international and new, centrist parties. These were consistently marked by a further sharp development of Trotskyism on its anti-Soviet road (betrayal by C.P.S.U. and C.I. and pro-civil war in the U.S.S.R.). To lend a pseudo-theoretical justification for his allegation that the Third International has betrayed and collapsed, Trotsky has developed the theory that we have entered upon a period of blackest reaction—"the epoch of Fascism and reaction." But with the dismal failure of all their maneuvers for new parties and a new international, the Trotskyites are developing the "theory" that the hope of the working classes lies in the fictitious regeneration of the Social-Democratic Parties and in some cases are therefore preparing to go headlong into the S.P. Simultaneously there is to be noted stagnation and disintegration in the camp of Trotskyism (splits in U.S., Canada, Rakovsky incident).

Life Confirms ICO Line

9. The general analysis of the international situation and the evaluation of Trotskyism and the CI made by the ICO have been confirmed by recent events. The tremendous progress of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the victories of the Soviet Chinese forces, the wave of strikes and organization in the U.S., the notable headway made in underground revolutionary organization in Germany and Austria all give the lie to the one-sided Trotskyist conception of the world entering an epoch of reaction and Fascism. At the same time, the CI conception, threadbare thru mechanical repetition, that we are on the eve of "the inevitable approach of a new wave of revolutions," has been refuted by objective developments. The ICO has correctly underscored the increasingly favorable objective conditions for revolutionary struggles and victories and urged the CI to return to the Leninist tactical path in order to utilize adequately these opportunities.

Furthermore, recent events in the French and Czechoslovakian Communist parties (Doriot, Guttman) have refuted the Trotskyist and Social-reformist contention that the situation in the CI is so frozen, really dead, that there is no vitality or hope there.

The National Committee indorses the proposal of the Buro and the decision of the first underground Convention of the CPGO to have the ICO request to be permitted to send a fraternal delegation to the Seventh World Congress of the CI. At this congress the ICO delegation is to fight for the complete discarding of the ultra-left line, for the restoration of democratic centralism, and for unification and reconstruction of the world Communist movement. In this fight, we, of course, underline our conviction that the Communist parties cannot be reformed through winning over the puppet leaderships but only by winning over the membership for the line of the ICO.

Present Condition of ICO

We are glad to be able to note that since our conven-

the Tasks of the Communists of the Communist Party Opposition

six months ago, the ICO has considerably improved its position in Germany and the U.S. Important progress can likewise be registered for the ICO in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and India. In England we have succeeded in winning a base of influence through enhancing the revolutionary clarity of the R.P.C. in the I.L.P., to the point of substantial agreement by the R.P.C. with the principles and tactical line of the ICO.

However, we must frankly declare that the ICO has not been immune from the crisis pervading the labor movement. Only where the sections of the ICO have adhered to its line, have remained firm proponents of Communist principles and Leninist tactics, have we been able really to go forward (Germany, U.S.). In our former Swedish section, the leadership has gone over to centrism, dropped the name of Communist and adopted the name Socialist. Under these circumstances the break with the ICO was unavoidable. This has played into the hands of the official CI section in Sweden and strengthened the ultra-left course there. The National Committee unreservedly condemns the action of Mourer of the CPO of Alsace in voting for the Doumergue government in the French Chamber of Deputies. We greet the numerous deliberate efforts of the ICO to win over the CPO of Alsace to a correct position in the coming municipal election campaign in Strassbourg. As against the policy of an election bloc with the nationalist Volksfront, constituent sections of which have gone Fascist, the CPO of Alsace should seek to develop the proletarian united front against French imperialism and Fascism. Holding even the highest offices in the municipal government is not an end in itself. In the truest comradely fashion we stress to our Alsatian comrades that it is impossible to carry out simultaneously an anti-Fascist proletarian united front policy and a coalition policy with the Volksfront parties which are going Fascist.

IV. THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Stagnation—The Economic Outlook

1. The marked slowing down in the process of revival indicates that another reversal in the economic trend is at hand. General economic activities and industrial progress have been slowing down. Since the beginnings of revival in midyear of 1932, recovery has run a zigzag course with ups and downs being limited to 3 and 4 months. Production has just begun to turn downward from this year-end spurt which at best did not equal the immediately preceding brief upward swing.

2. The general economic index is today at least thirty per cent lower than last mid-summer. Stagnation and the deflation of the optimism of some months ago now pervade the economic outlook. At the end of the first year of the NRA, its popularity has begun to sag due to its failure to solve the economic difficulties and due to its aggravating effect on certain phases of the economic situation, (stimulation of monopoly, artificial shifting of industry, organization of scarcity, credit inflation, collapse of monetary policy, persistence of mass unemployment, etc.). The government program to secure quick absorption of the unemployed army has failed. There is nothing in sight to warrant any fulfillment of these Roosevelt plans. Foreign trade development and prospects are anything but a source of relief here. No expansion of the constructive industries is at hand to reduce the army of no-occupation. Finally the industries producing means of production (machine building, agricultural implements, etc.) continue critically stagnant. It is in such a situation that 16,000,000 people are still on the relief rolls. The government now admits that the problem of relief is permanent in view of well over 10,000,000 still being fully unemployed.

Is The New Deal Fascist?

3. Roosevelt's great personal popularity still persists and the outlook for the Republican Party in the coming Congressional elections is not bright, despite the beginnings of disillusionment with the NRA. The disillusionment is especially evident amongst the farmers who are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the workings of the AAA. The rapid extension of State Capitalism and the constantly increasing interference by the government in economic relations have caused some Communists and Liberals to evaluate the New Deal as Fascism. This is untrue. There is no profound social and political crisis in the United States, and we do not yet have a revolutionary class-conscious movement to challenge capitalist rule. The foundation of the New Deal is a mass parliamentary party (Democratic Party), making blocs and coalitions with sections of other parliamentary groups. The labor organizations are not yet being singled out for destruction. Parliamentary rights and capitalist democratic institutions are still intact, the illusions about them are still intense and widespread. The tendency of the New Deal to strengthen the executive arm of the government and to extend State Capitalism are not in themselves Fascism. However, it must be recognized that there are already numerous objective factors at work making for Fascism; likewise, some subjective factors have already begun to manifest themselves (Silver Shirts, Silver Rangers, etc.). Besides, the international spread of Fascism, the growing impotency of parliamentarism, the continuing economic crisis and the increasing possibility of discontent being transformed into revolutionary spirit,

the changing class composition and the transformation of sections of the middle class into a sort of "lumpen bourgeoisie," the trend towards violent nationalism in politics and economics, and the inevitability of the failure of the sundry purging schemes of the New Deal, are ominous signs on our political horizon. The most serious source of Fascist menace in this country at present is the marked tendency towards company unionism and the multiplying proposals for quasi-public unionism, for "statization" or government ownership of unionism.

NRA and Labor

4. In the ranks of the working class the disillusionment with the NRA, though still far from complete, is already serious. Even the A. F. of L. is already openly dissatisfied with the labor phases of the NRA. A wave of strikes continues and now and then assumes the most militant forms (Toledo, Pacific coast waterfront strikes, Minneapolis). These strikes assume special significance beyond dramatic militancy. Of greatest import here is the higher level of class consciousness attained by the workers in these battles which have served to stimulate sympathetic and general strike sentiment on a local scale. Besides, these battles have taken on greater political content because of the open ruthless strike breaking role played by the government (use of National Guard) and the extra-legal bands of strike breakers (Citizens' Committees). The steel strike has been temporarily averted by the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the tricky maneuvers of President Roosevelt, but dissatisfaction continues to develop rapidly among the steel workers. The automobile workers have taken further steps towards the organization of a national union. In the textile industry, the workers are preparing to strike against the onerous provisions of the NRA and only the outright treachery of McMahon has so far prevented a national silk strike. The trend towards progressive unionism and new realignments in the A. F. of L. were evident at the I.L.G.W.U. Convention. The significance of the more than 900 Federal locals in the A. F. of L. is inestimable primarily because of their general industrial basis and their consisting, in the main, of semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

5. At its last convention the Socialist Party evidenced its first leftward winds in nearly fifteen years.

6. The various splinter grouplets from the Communist movement have degenerated still more into worthless sects because of their wrong political line and their consequent failure to participate significantly in the wave of strikes and organization under the A. F. of L. banner.

CP Persists In Sectarianism

7. The official CP stubbornly persists in its costly ultra-left sectarian line despite twists and turns and loud and prolonged shrieking about its generally fictitious achievements. The critical situation in the official CP is most glaringly evidenced in its terrific turnover in membership, in the complete bankruptcy of its "red unions," and in the most inconsequential role it is now playing in the leftward developments in the SP. The TUUL is now the shadow of its former pitiful self. It has played no part in the great wave of strikes. It has not been the slightest factor even in such dramatic struggles as those at Toledo and Minneapolis. Its former foothold in such industries as needle, auto and mining is now practically non-existent. For this reason, the CP is now maneuvering to secure a revival of its "red unions" and more successes in its dual, union-splitting policies under the guise of organizing a new, an independent federation of labor. The basic contradiction in the CP red trade union policy continues to be: While it does not deny membership to non-Communists in its "red" unions, it insists that these unions must recognize the CP as their leader. In its work in the bona fide unions the CP cannot overcome the contradiction between organizing constructive opposition groups and the building of dual competing unions. The tragic bankruptcy of the CP united front policy operating under the single code of social-fascism was brought into bold relief in recent months (Madison Square Garden, isolation from and incapacity to understand SP developments).

Condition of CPO

8. Since the National Convention the CPO has reached a new position in the American labor movement and class struggle—enhanced prestige, greater and more widespread influence. Though we are now, more than ever, a distinct positive force in the labor movement, we are still primarily a propaganda organization with mass influence only in isolated sections of the working class (needle, shoe, textile). In the last half year we have had a generally correct application of our trade union and united front policies. Though we have grown numerically and attracted new forces to us (Lithuanian fraternal affiliation, etc.), yet the numerical size of our membership has been lagging lamentably behind our general influence in the labor movement.

V. SOME PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

1. In view of the inner situation in the CI and CP, it is urgently necessary for the ICO and CPO to raise the ideological level, not only of the workers already class-con-

scious but of the labor movement as a whole. We must put in the foreground of our tasks the systematical Marxian analysis of American conditions in the light of the international and domestic situation, particularly because of the political sterility of the ultra-left leadership of the CP and because of the confusion in the ranks of the SP membership and followers. It is the job of the CPO to contribute decisively towards an understanding of the basic principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The growing general interest in Communism affords us a most favorable opportunity and indicates the most urgent necessity for enlarging and extending our educational work.

United Front Work

2. We must intensify our united front activities. United front actions with impotent sects (AWP, Trotskyites, etc.) are of no special value, since they do not serve to set any masses in motion to struggle against employers and do not help attain revolutionary unity. Furthermore, we must be on guard against such united fronts giving the appearance of being anti-CP blocs. We must rather move the center of gravity of our united front actions towards mass organizations (trade unions, fraternal organizations) and towards some significant political organizations (C.P. and S.P.).

Attitude To SP Developments

3. In the present situation in the Socialist Party we must maintain a constructively critical attitude and lend comradely encouragement and revolutionary leadership to the leftward-moving socialist workers. Especially because of the failure of the centrist leadership of the S.P. and even of the organized left wing in the SP (RPC) to emphasize sufficiently fundamental principles in their Party referendum, it becomes our duty to enlighten the SP members about the basic principles of revolutionary socialism, about Communism. We must work out the necessary effective transitional stages, each step of which will objectively and definitely lead the Socialist Party membership more and more to the left—that is to Communism. In all our activities among and relations with Socialist Party members, we must make clear to them the necessity for the destruction of all species of reformism and their breaking not only with open reformism (right-wing) but also with hidden or left reformism (centrism), as exemplified by the "Declaration of Principles." The National Committee underscores the fact that the influence which we have won among Socialist Party members and the constructive role we have played in aiding them to move towards the left have been due to our energetic execution of the political line laid down by the National Convention towards reformism and centrism. The progress we have made in this field bears out the correctness of the policies adopted by the National Convention.

In principled questions we will continue to refuse to make even the slightest concession. No Communist can conclude that the leftward-moving members of the Socialist Party have already completed their process of revolutionary development. At best they are still en route to Communism. To consider that their leftward development is already completed, means to halt their full development towards Communism and to prepare and assist their eventual return to open reformism. We, however, emphatically repudiate the tactics of the official CP in denouncing these Socialist workers because they are not yet fully Communists. The official CP tactics here play into the hands of the reformists, halting the leftward developments and even tend to drive Socialist Party members back into the arms of open reformism. The National Committee further categorically declares that it is impermissible in principle for Communists as individuals, or as organized groups, to merge with the Socialist Party which is a reformist organization with a leftward development in its ranks. To do this would mean to accept the Social-Democratic ideological levels and principles and to undermine and destroy the possibility of stimulating and insuring the winning over of masses of socialist workers to higher levels of class consciousness —to Communism.

Communists Can Work In Reformist Unions

4. The successful practical activities of the CPO in the trade unions since the National Convention (needle, textile, shoe, mining, metal) shows emphatically, not only that Communists can work in the trade unions, but also affords many lessons as to how progressive groups and constructive oppositions are to be developed inside the labor unions. In all our trade union work we must keep in mind that while trade unions are non-partisan organizations they are not united front organizations. It is essential to remember this in order to avoid opportunism as well as ultra-left mistakes. The CPO must take steps to enlarge the scope of its trade union work, to enhance the class content of the issues raised by us. Towards this end the development of effective fraction work and genuine progressive groups in the central trades councils and the organization of national progressive groups in certain unions is of paramount immediate importance. We must energetically utilize our present position in the trade union movement to intensify the fight against company unionism and fascism, for unemployment and general social insurance, against race prejudice as well as for industrial unionism, trade union democracy, higher wages and better working conditions. In this respect, our agitation for a Labor Party assumes special importance and must be

(Continued on Page 6)

Statement of the Communist Opposition

(Continued from Page 5)

transformed, on local scales, into practical organizational activities. In general, we must intensify our activities as Communists working constructively inside the conservative A. F. of L. unions for their transformation into militant industrial unions. Likewise, we must show maximum desire, ability and industry in mobilizing the revolutionary and progressive workers for taking the leadership in educating and assimilating the millions of new A. F. of L. members. Only in this way will we be able to defeat the drive of company unionism and efforts of government-ownership of unions which would be the first step in the construction of corporate or fascist unions. By intensifying our trade union work along the above lines we will be able to lead the necessary revolutionary leadership at this moment when the American labor movement has entered upon a new period of development.

5. Because of the changes in the economic situation and some of the steps taken and maneuvers made by the Roosevelt Administration, (CWA) all organizations of unemployed have recently declined in strength. The National Committee herewith instructs the Buro to reorganize the unemployed work, to appoint a new National Unemployment Committee and to prepare a concrete program of action in this field for the coming fall and winter.

Work Among Negro Masses

The unbearable condition of the Negro masses in the crisis continues in ever-sharpening form. The tendency of the N.R.A. to raise somewhat the levels of the most depressed sections of the working class, tho making no fundamental change in the situation of the workers as a whole, found an exception in the case of the Negro. Here unemployment actually increased, the raising of the lowest levels resulting only in the displacement of Negro by white workers. The resulting discontent of the Negro masses has been insufficiently steered in the direction of Communism in spite of the signal lesson of the Scottsboro

case. On the other hand, tendencies are developing amongst the Negro masses which threaten to sidetrack the growing discontent into reactionary channels (Japanese imperialism the "friend" of the Negro masses.) The ideas of racial solidarity, strong amongst the Negro masses, which must be turned by Communists into ideas of solidarity of the oppressed Negro and white masses against the common enemy is being dissipated into "separatist" channels by Negro reformists. In this connection the "separatist" tendencies inherent in the official party theory of "self-determination" can only tend to strengthen these tendencies and plays into the hands of the reactionaries inside and outside of the ranks of the Negroes. The C.P.O. must therefore all the more present a clear Communist line on the Negro Question on the U. S. The Communists must demand the complete social and political equality of the Negro race. They must break down the barriers between the Negro and white worker and weld them into a common front against the common enemy. They must champion the abolition of peonage and the self-conditions of the farmers in the South. They must fight for the complete equality of the Negro in industry and the smashing of the barriers against the Negro workers in the trade unions. They must take up the struggle against lynching, Jim-Crowism, and every type of discrimination. Only in this way can the Negro masses be won for revolutionary action.

Inner Situation of CPO

6. The inner situation of our group is today healthier than at any time in its existence. Objective developments and our activities have borne out the general correctness of our tactical line. The fundamentally healthy condition of our group is especially evidenced in its ability to ward off all attempts of the official CP to drive us to accept

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

There will appear a
Supplementary Resolution on
THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

their ultra-left, non-Leninist, tactical course. In this sense we must also greet the fact that the group has been able to defeat all attempts and maneuvers from reformist sources to drown it in the morass of centrism. We have contributed substantially to the annihilating defeat inflicted upon the elements agitating and working against Communist unity thru the creation of new centrist parties and a new centrist international. Since the convention, the CPO has practically wiped out all remnants of factionalism and clique struggle arising out of previous controversies in our ranks.

Problems of The ICO

7. We must take further steps to build the ICO. We cannot expect the new forces coming to us from the CP, the trade unions, or the Social-Democratic movement, at the very outset of their joining us, to have clarity and correctness of viewpoint to the extent that we have it today after years of struggle and practical communist activities. In holding our forces together, we must also recognize the great difficulties which we as an ICO face, because of the very nature of our struggle, (CI persistence in ultra-left course, wave of centrism, social democratic left phrases, no rapid numerical growth). We will make headway precisely to the extent that we make no concessions in principles and do not deviate from our general tactical line. To aid in the building of the ICO centre, the National Committee herewith decides to send, within a few months, one of its members as a permanent worker in the ICO Buro. Our activities in behalf of the underground work in Germany and Austria must be considerably improved. Our work for the relief of the victims of the fascist terror must be organized nationally and far more effectively. Immediate steps should be taken to co-ordinate and extend our contacts in Latin America and lend greater assistance to our Canadian comrades in the interest of extending the influence and organization of the ICO.

The National Committee reaffirms the adherence of the CPO to its perspectives as adopted at the National Convention and pledges itself to an intensification of our struggle for a return of the Communist International and its American section to the Leninist tactical path and the rebuilding and the re-unification of the world party of Communism—the Communist International and its Sections.

CUBA IN TURMOIL

(Continued from Page 3)

broadcasting their opposition to the ABC, forced each one to drink a large dose of castor oil. The ABC includes in its program of active opposition all leaders of left and Communist movements. It accepts the principles of Fascism with "special modifications suitable to Cuba." Recently it has begun anti-semitic propaganda.

The force opposing the "semi-fascist" demonstration of the ABC included a section of the Navy, still loyal to Grau, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Anti-Imperialist League, the revolutionary students and the ABC "left wing." A call for a general strike by the Communist Party and the Cuban Confederation of Labor on the day of the demonstration, did not materialize.

This violent unrest, the unprecedented series of strikes, the mass protests and demonstrations, the struggle for political control by the ABC and Mendieta's Nationalist Party, all these have produced general chaos in Cuba. Not an hour passes in a Cuban day without a bomb exploding somewhere to dramatize hunger and mass protest. But Mendieta is still in power and the United States is determined that he shall remain. The sudden "abrogation" of the Platt amendment was calculated to smooth the way for Mendieta and to create a breathing spell and to build him a certain amount of prestige in the estimate of the people.

The Meaning Of Abrogation

Liberals like Ludwig Lore on the Post and Ernest Gruening in the New York Times hailed this "great event" as the beginning of the end of our imperialist policy; but to anyone with eyes that will see, this "abrogation" is only a gesture which costs us nothing and which is calculated to win us Latin American good will so essential to our preparations for the coming war. We see from daily despatches Japan's maneuvers throughout Latin America to win political advantage in preparation for the coming struggle. After, as before, this "abrogation" Cuba is bound to us hand and foot economically, and Liberals please take note—we keep our naval base at Guanta-

namo and our coaling stations.

The editorial comments of the capitalist press should have made instructive reading for our liberals who always believe in words. The Tribune stated very categorically that abrogation changed nothing. The N. Y. Times on May 31st announced that:

"Such surrenders of privilege in Cuba are more of a concession to Latin American temperament than a denial of fundamental international rights . . . To make an end of it (the Platt amendment) is an act of wise policy. But it remains true, that with or without a treaty, the American government may lawfully intervene in Cuba to protect its own nationals or their property . . . Moreover the retention of the naval base at Guantanamo is a clear indication that Cuba is embraced within the plans of the U. S. for national defense."

President Roosevelt's summer jaunt to the Caribbean and the countries bordering on the Panama Canal are in line with this gesture to recapture Latin American good will.

The Statement of the Communist Party of Cuba on the abrogation of the Platt amendment emphasizes that:

1. The abrogation brought no change to the Cuban masses who will continue to be exploited by American bankers and sugar interests.

2. The danger of intervention is in no way lessened since the U. S. retains the Guantanamo naval base.

3. The move is aimed to lull the anti-interventionist movement.

4. It is a fake gesture of "generosity" which aims to reinforce the war front in the Caribbean and in South America.

5. It aims to bolster up the position of the reactionary Mendieta government which has been badly shaken by mass protest and which has been unable to secure better economic conditions for the masses.

Roosevelt Speaks

The American Government is also well aware of the fact that this "generous" gesture of abrogation of the Platt amendment can-

The facts involved in the Weirton case are the following. The Weirton Steel company, employing over 12,000 workers, had signed the steel code, which was adopted by about 95% of the steel industry, and which included Section 7a as a guarantee to the workers. However, while doing this, the company through its officials adopted a plan for a company union, and organized such a union through its officers and paid organizers. The workers on the other hand, relying on the provisions of Section 7a, which gives them the "right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing" and further stipulates that they "shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such

not bolster the Mendieta regime for an indefinite time and it is determined on further measures to preserve the shaky structure.

On June 30th Roosevelt declared an embargo on shipment of arms, munitions and explosives to Cuba, except under license of the State Department to be issued only on the request of the Cuban government. In explanation it was added: "The president has found that there exists in Cuba a condition of domestic violence which is or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States."

Our government also proposes a conference on tariffs in the immediate future to discuss the question of lowering American duties on Cuban sugar by 50%. In addition to that the U. S. government will probably extend heavy loans to the Mendieta clique to keep it in power. If, however, the ABC should take control of Cuban destinies, there is no doubt but that our State Department and big business would be just as willing to play the game with them. They are a more uncertain element at present merely because of their greater mass base. Nevertheless, the ABC leaders have proven themselves the trusted friends of American business. Whether these American plans for Cuba will be permitted to mature depends altogether on the push and the pull of class forces now preparing for fresh battles.

representatives or in self-organization, or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining," began to organize their own union. The bosses began a campaign of terror and discrimination against the members of the union. The strike which resulted was successful and the company had to shut down its plants for several weeks. The National Labor Board then stepped into the situation and called a conference of the employers and representatives of the union. The strike was called off and it was agreed that an election be held in the shops of the Weirton Steel company to decide who are the real representatives of the workers, the Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers, or the company union. The election was supposed to be held under the supervision of the National Labor Board.

Immediately after the conference, however, the company officials went to work and began to prepare the grounds for the "election." Instead of adopting the rules and regulations for the election as worked out by the National Labor Board, the company made its own rules and regulations, without giving any notice to the Labor Board or to the Amalgamated Association. The way the company prepared for the elections can best be visualized by quoting affidavits submitted by various workers to the court, and which the Court quotes in its decision.

"Defendant (Weirton Steel Company) employed various measures of coercion, intimidation and interference, including discharges, lay-offs, demotions and changes in conditions of employment, and threats thereof; it threatened the closing of plants, the transfer of work and the reduction of operations. The management engaged in individual and collective solicitation and urging, held mass meetings, gave special inducements and made coercive speeches; it engaged in misrepresentation and espionage."

"Meanwhile it has threatened the discharge of all employees who signed election petitions or who participated in any poll conducted by the National Labor Board. At the date hereof the defendant is continuing the ac-

tivities in this bill complained of, is threatening to continue them in the future and is defeating the right of the employees to organize and to bargain collectively."

(New York Times, May 30, 1934.)

After reading all the affidavits in the case, Judge Nields, states his opinion:

"It is true the company took an active part in advising its employees to vote for the nominees of the company union. During the period from the settlement of the strike in October to December elections there was active campaigning. (my emphasis)

"The president of the company appeared at a number of meetings, as did other officers and foremen of the company. Such meetings were held nearly every night for three weeks prior to the election." (my emphasis)

There were also other activities carried on, such as parties for various employees, dismissal of anyone who supported the Amalgamated Association, and other threats and intimidations.

As a result of this campaigning the company union "received" 9,336 votes out of 11,443 votes counted.

After these repeated statements of the company officials, the National Labor Board brought action against the company for violating the provisions of the code, and to restrain it from further violating its provisions with relation to section 7a.

A motion for a preliminary injunction was made. A hearing was held, affidavits were submitted for and against the injunction, and the judge denied the application for an injunction.

It is interesting to note that the judge based his decision for the denial, on the Norris-La Guardia Act which was purportedly designed to help the trade unions in their struggle against injunctions. The bill provided that no preliminary injunctions shall be issued in an industrial dispute except upon an open hearing in court with witnesses. Basing himself on this bill the Judge denied the injunction.

JACK SMITH

The Weirton Steel Decision

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The Real Trend in Germany

IN the course of its efforts to perpetuate its class rule, the bourgeoisie resort to sundry methods, to various forms of capitalist dictatorship. When capitalism is in decay, when the toiling masses are desperate, when the parliamentary fabric has been worn threadbare, and the actual or potential menace of the revolutionary proletariat is serious, the owning class resorts to a brutal, open but indirect dictatorship. This is Fascism. Both in Italy and Germany the owning class has been compelled by socio-economic conditions to resort to rule thru one party (Fascist) having a monopoly of the state apparatus which is supplemented by special anti-proletarian bands of select gangsters and armed mercenaries. No form of political, trade union, or cultural organization is permitted to the workers who are made to bear a still greater portion of the burdens of the acute crisis. In short, the capitalists turn to the Fascist Party as their last hope for a solution of the plaguing contradictions of the capitalist system.

For some time, Italian developments, and recently, particularly events in Germany, have shown that precisely this Fascist Party which was set up to solve all capitalist contradictions is not only unable to do so but is inevitably pursuing a policy which only aggravates them. In fact, the Fascist Party, the white hope of rotting capitalism, is itself a monstrous contradiction, a sort of funnel thru which all capitalist antagonisms seek to pour but only clog to become really only the concentration or focal point in the sewer of capitalist contradictions. In an attempt to deny and crush the class struggle, it vainly seeks to harness conflicting class forces pulling in opposite directions. Desperately trying to bring "order" and rejuvenation into capitalist economy, Fascism reverts to brute force as the decisive factor in the economic process, to backward methods which capitalism has either long outlived or superseded. Seeking to preserve the fiction of national honor, prestige, unity and interests, it drives headlong to wars which destroy the physical and economic foundations of the nation. Finally, battling to maintain capitalism solely thru savage force, it leaves open, without question, but one solution to the proletariat—armed force against the bourgeoisie, their lackeys, and the whole system.

It is in the development and maturing of the above social and economic process, the class expression of these basic forces, that an explanation and an understanding of the present complicated German events is to be found. It is the movement of classes, the trend of class forces, and not the intriguing of marionette Cabinet ministers, not the wish-thinking of neurotic liberal journalists, nor the sterile hopes of parlor or talk-revolutionists fatigued by their exciting hopes and dreams, which is decisive in these tense and crowded hours in the life of the German people.

Undoubtedly, Nazi Germany is in a desperate crisis. Its immediate economic outlook is anything but bright. Its plight, acute enough because of the world crisis, because of its own anaemic economic constitution, has been further aggravated by a number of its own policies, remedies, and cure-alls. With the worsening of the economic situation the huge army of Storm Troopers (S.A.) set up to maintain the Fascist regime becomes a crushing burden on the Fascist system itself. Within the S.A. the lower middle class and proletarian forces begin to chafe with disappointment, disillusionment, and distrust. As the economic difficulties multiply, the condition of the lower middle class and working class tends to become unbearable. Despair rises. The myth of Fascist invincibility begins to vanish. Yesterday's source of strength (Storm Troopers) become today's source of infection. The Nazi regime is unable to meet the heavy cost of the maintenance of its huge private army. From reduction of the S.A. stipends, Der Fuehrer travels inexorably to a reduction of the S.A. army itself. Personal and clique jealousies flourish in such a situation and atmosphere. The political friends of the night become the assassins of the dawn. In the flotsam and jetsam of capitalist decay, Nazi morbidity and degeneracy—mobilized to save and revive the dying social order—come to the fore, no longer are concealable. The Junker class and their monarchist showmen see their hopes revived. Even some industrialists, disappointed by the prospects of shrinking dividends and frightened by the menace of falling profits, are on the alert for something new and different to stave off currency collapse and total economic paralysis.

This is Germany today. We warn against the workers entertaining any illusions that the end of Hitlerism is at hand because Hitler has shot Roehm yesterday and may shoot Goering tomorrow. We warn against illusions that even the possibility of Goering's shooting the victory will prove the undoing of Fascism and the beginning of Papen's coming to life or Hindenburg's going to death will launch the proletarian victorious onrush or the overthrow of Fascism. We are in the midst of a situation in which class relations are decisive and not clique quarrels, personal jealousies, individual corruption or monarchist ambitions. Only the working class, following the principles of Communism and led by a Communist Party with sound tactics, can exterminate Fascism. At this moment we must frankly say that the revolutionary proletarian forces in Germany are still too weak to perform this very urgent and hoped-for task. There is no question that the grave economic crisis facilitates the revolutionary in the Nazi party has not only served to wipe out the lure of Fascism in Germany and elsewhere, to an appreciable measure, but has also positively aided the Communist cause in the Third Reich.

What is happening now in Germany has, in essence, happened in Italy in the first stages of the Mussolini regime. Except, that what it took Italy years, it takes Germany months to go through. The Storm Troop army must be reduced. It must be purged of those forces who took seriously Hitler's demagogic promises. The proletarian

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

Hartford "Slaves" The Trade Union Problem

In these days of stress and strain in the trade union movement, there appear from time to time unique plans for leading the working people out of the muddle they find themselves in today. We take up now the plan of a native son of Hartford, a plan being hailed in the local press as revolutionary both in organization form and in its philosophy.

The proponent of the plan, a certain La Vista, was the leader of the Pratt and Whitney strike. He it was who took the workers out of the A. F. of L. because it was too conservative. The same La Vista then set up fraternal relations with the TUUL and called in the I.L.D. to handle defense work. So close was the cooperation between the CP and this La Vista that he even appeared at a CP mass meeting in St. Nicholas Arena to appeal for support for the strikers. In view of this relationship it is rather interesting that the CP has no comment to make on the La Vista plan.

Industrial Form As The Basic Structure

There is little fault to find with the organizational scheme for trade union organization. It is neither new nor original. It calls for the organization of the workers in Connecticut into industrial unions. These are to be coordinated by a "Worker's Council" consisting of one from each industrial union.

Class-Collaboration The Philosophy Proposed

The relation between this "Worker's Council" and the employers is to be one of friendly cooperation. It would "meet with the employer, go over his books, and make its demands high or low as the employer made big or little profits." No consideration whatever is to be given to prevailing wage rates and decent living levels, it is stated. The sole consideration in determining wage demands would be "the capacity of the employer to pay." Different wage scales in different plants of the same industry is provided for since the workers would be "cooperating with the small profit plants by reducing its demands."

Paging Mr. Green.

Little need be said here of the basic fallacies of this philosophy—a philosophy developed and glorified by Mr. William Green, under the euphonious name of the higher strategy of labor, during the height of "prosperity." In actual practice all such proposals make unionism—whether craft or industrial—impotent and chains the workers to the profit chariot of the industrialists. Economically it spells starvation for the workers because wage levels, in all cases, would sink to the level of the least productive unit in the industry.

The scheme, it must be emphasized is not new. What is new is the combination of a progressive form of trade unionism with a most reactionary and discredited trade union philosophy.

An additional lesson to be learned from this plan is that the existence of a union independent of the A. F. of L. is not necessarily an indication of its radical character. This is something which the C.P. and the T.U.U.L. have still to learn.

A Perplexing Canadian Problem

A Canadian worker writes in to inform us that he can't for the life of him understand why there is so much confusion here in the U.S.A. over the question of which

trade union center revolutionary workers should be in. Can there be any question, he asks, when there is really only one center—the A. F. of L.? If you want a difficult nut to crack look at the Canadian trade union movement says our correspondent.

A Divided Labor Movement

So we look at the trade union movement in Canada and find, in truth, a most difficult situation. The quarter million or so organized trade unionists are divided among three distinct trade union centers, among which rivalry and bitter hatred reaches the level of open scabbard. The first and strongest of these centers is the A. F. of L. with a membership of over 100,000. Next in strength comes the All Canadian Congress of Labor with a membership of about 50,000. The last of them is the Catholic Syndicates (confined primarily to the province of Quebec) with a membership of about 25,000. To complete the picture we must mention the Railroad Brotherhoods, independent of all centers, but affiliated to the Railroad Brotherhoods in the U.S.A. and of course the Worker's Unity League of Canada (little brother of our own T.U.U.L.).

Political Complexion Of Canada's Unionism

Outside of the CP-controlled Workers Unity League, there is little to choose between them, in the sense of progressive trade unionism. The A. F. of L. trade unions in Canada are in no way different from those in the U. S. The only difference between the A.C.C. of L. and the A.F.L. is over the independence of Canada's trade union movement from that of the U. S. The Catholic Syndicates do appear to have basic differences with both. Where the other centers, the reformist and reactionary in leadership, do participate in economic struggles and not infrequently, in quite militant struggles, the Catholic unions are opposed to the strike as a weapon and openly resist every effort at economic struggle. These unions, priest ridden and under church control, are mutual aid societies rather than economic organizations of the workers. In a number of recent struggles, Catholic workers had to break with their union and align themselves with either of the other centers in order to engage in strikes for the improvement of their conditions.

In industries where more than one of these centers have a foothold disastrous results ensue. Take for instance the recent strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in Toronto. The A.C.C. of L. immediately set up a competing union and filled the shops with their own members. Indeed, not an encouraging situation for the Canadian trade unionists.

What's To Be Done?

In such a difficult set-up it appears to us that the first task of all genuine progressives is to develop among the mass of trade unionist and unorganized workers, who suffer from this division and dissension, a movement for joint action in any and every impending strike situation.

The further, and of course, the more difficult task is the merger of all genuine trade union centers into an all-inclusive new, united Canadian trade union movement. (This would exclude the Catholic unions which, in the main, are not trade unions at all.) The demand for trade union unity must become the battle cry of all progressives in the Canadian labor movement.

Marxism vs. Methodism

by T. T. D.

In Grandville furniture workers were battling hunger, a vicious court injunction, and the police; in Detroit MESA pickets kept their ranks solid around the Burroughs Adding Machine Co.; thruout the state drought-ridden farms struck another blow at helpless farmers; but in Battle Creek the Socialist Party of Michigan met in convention and formed a united front with higher life. It elected the Rev. Arthur E. Larsen, D.D., its gubernatorial candidate for the state elections.

This farcical selection, seriously engineered by the Krueger lieutenants in Michigan, reveals in all its impoverished outline the utter lack of principle and position of the "militants" now in control of the Socialist Party.

The Reverend Larsen had been a party member four months. He spoke with a syrupy, ministerial cadence. He sweated sweetness and light and exhaled the dew and the sunshine. Early in the Spring, at a conference of Methodist ministers in Lansing, he had concurred with that body in endorsing the statements of its keynoter, Kirby Page, who said that if the Socialist movement in America was to be kept from going the way of Communism (i.e. atheism, i.e. dialectic materialism), it was up to the ministry of America to go into it and capture it.

Because of the selection, Francis King, state secretary, resigned his office. Sound Marxists refused to run on the ticket. Small, left-infantile upstate locals muttered about a split. But Larsen had neither the good grace nor the tactical sense to withdraw.

Despite the capitulation to Christian Socialism, despite the failure of the party to place a single farmer on the ticket, the convention revealed a strong, revolutionary minority that battled Krueger centrism at every step. It defeated the "militant" platform and adopted the one presented by Fagan of the RPC. Vigorous debate and fast foot work by Fagan and Klein of Lansing and Strachan of Detroit, inserted the sections on War and The Road To Power from the RPC platform in place of the same sections in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the national convention in Detroit. A motion was also pushed through to offer these sections as alternative choices in the national referendum.

The effect of the Larsen selection, really put through by a parliamentary trick, on the membership was a sad sight. Michigan has about ten outstate locals that possess everything but leadership and direction.

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For students of National Training School and national organizers

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NEGRO JAZZ BAND
ADMISSION 35c

COMMUNIST PARTY
(Opposition)

elements must be cleared out; the lower middle class forces must be wiped out. The Nazi party itself must be reduced. This is the way in which Hitlerism will try to maintain and strengthen its hold for some months.

What next? The answer to this question will continue to rest with the proletariat and not with the von Papens, the Hindenburgs or such illusions as the complete independence of the Reichswehr apart and above class relations. The objective situation for our struggle is more favorable. We must correct our tactics to make them more suitable. Will the German C.P. learn? When?